

2. The situation in Liberia

Decision of 29 January 1996 (3624th meeting): resolution 1041 (1996)

On 23 January 1996, in pursuance of Security Council resolution 1014 (1995), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his fifteenth progress report on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).¹ The report provided an update on developments in the country, and the implementation of the new mandate of the Observer Mission.

In his report, the Secretary-General expressed concern at the events in Liberia and the continuing delays in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement,² and noted that the full support of those concerned would be required to bring the peace process back on track. Faction leaders needed to ensure that their forces observed the ceasefire, disengaged without further delay and cooperated with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and UNOMIL to initiate the disarmament and demobilization process. The international community, for its part, needed to provide the necessary resources to enable the Monitoring Group to fulfil its responsibilities. Notwithstanding the setbacks, the Secretary-General recommended a four-month extension of the mandate of UNOMIL, until 31 May 1996. During that period, he hoped that the Liberian National Transitional Government and the faction leaders would extend their full cooperation to ECOMOG and UNOMIL in stabilizing the situation and bringing the peace process back on track.

At its 3621st meeting, held on 25 January 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included on its agenda the item entitled “the situation in Liberia”, as well as the report of the Secretary-General. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (United Kingdom) invited the representatives of Côte d’Ivoire, the Czech Republic, Ethiopia, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Senegal, Swaziland, Togo and Tunisia, at their request,

to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote.

Opening the debate, the representative of Liberia affirmed that the Liberian civil war was virtually over, and stated that the Council of State considered the “recent skirmishes” in certain areas of the country as “unfortunate incidents”, which would not deprive the people of Liberia of the peace they had longed for. He reiterated the determination of the Liberian Council of State to abide by the Abuja Agreement and to support the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peace initiative. While acknowledging that Liberians were ultimately responsible for restoring peace and democracy in their country, he noted that they needed the Council’s help to jump start the disarmament and demobilization process, social and economic rehabilitation, and the holding of national elections.³

The representative of the United States believed that the conflict in Liberia was among the élites, not the people; they were not fighting over ideology, but personal power. She stated that in her meetings with the Council of State she had stressed that although her Government and the international community remained committed to helping Liberia, only Liberians could make the peace and the international community was losing patience. The Liberian Council of State had offered many reasons for the setbacks, however, as far as the United States was concerned, the word “delay” could no longer be accepted. Liberians and their leaders needed to find the political will to build a new country. Regarding UNOMIL, she stressed that they expected UNOMIL to follow through urgently on its other responsibilities including investigating and reporting to the Secretary-General on human rights abuses, on any other major violations of international humanitarian law and on humanitarian assistance activities.⁴

The representative of Germany also expressed concern at the lack of progress and at the fighting between soldiers of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J) and ECOMOG troops, and noted that the cessation of hostilities and

¹ S/1996/47 and Add.1.

² The Abuja Agreement to supplement the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement was signed by the leaders of the factions involved in the conflict in Liberia, at Abuja, Nigeria, on 19 August 1995 (S/1995/742, annex).

³ S/PV.3621, pp. 2-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

the restoration of security were essential to any measures of reconstruction and development that the international community might consider. He further noted that the operation of ECOMOG was an important example of a successful peacekeeping mission, in which African countries had assumed a greater share of responsibility for the re-establishment of peace and stability in one of their countries, and thus for the stabilization of the region as a whole. In addition, its cooperation with UNOMIL had demonstrated that a "division of labour" between the United Nations and regional organizations was a feasible model. While expressing support for the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL, he stressed that, if there were to be no visible progress with regard to maintaining the ceasefire, the disengagement of troops and disarmament during that period, his Government would have difficulties in supporting a further extension.⁵

The representative of China deemed that the situation in Liberia posed a threat to peace and stability in the neighbouring countries and the region as a whole. He urged the parties to cooperate with the United Nations and ECOWAS, strictly implement the peace Agreement and relevant Council resolutions, and complete the disarmament and demobilization process.⁶

During the course of the debate, a number of speakers expressed concern about the incidence of ceasefire violations and attacks against ECOMOG troops, as well as continuing delays in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, which threatened the peace process and jeopardized the holding of the legislative and presidential elections scheduled for August 1996. While supporting the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the mandate of UNOMIL, and calling for increased financial and logistical assistance to the Monitoring Group, they stressed, however, that the continued support of the international community was contingent on the parties' commitment to the Agreement.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7 (Italy); pp. 11-12 (Honduras); pp. 12-13 (Republic of Korea); pp. 13-15 (Indonesia); pp. 15-17 (Poland); p. 17 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 17-19 (Chile); pp. 19-21 (Senegal); pp. 21-22 (Gambia); pp. 23-24 (Guinea); pp. 24-25 (Togo); p. 27 (Tunisia); and pp. 29-30 (Czech Republic).

The representative of Botswana noted that the international community should not lose sight of the crucial role that the holding of legislative and presidential elections could play in establishing a legitimate Government in Liberia which could contribute to the sustenance of peace and stability in the country. In that context, he welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to send a technical mission to Liberia to consult with the Liberian National Transitional Government, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and ECOWAS on matters related to the electoral process.⁸ His delegation also supported the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL and hoped that, during that period, substantial progress would be made and that the elections would be held as scheduled.⁹

The representative of Egypt noted that the experience of ECOWAS provided a good model for the future role of regional and non-regional organizations in containing and settling regional conflicts. The experience had demonstrated how important it was that the United Nations provide support for those organizations, most of which lacked technical and financial resources, as well as equipment, to make regional endeavours a success.¹⁰

The representative of France deplored the serious fighting incidents in Liberia, in particular the one which had claimed the lives of several members of ECOMOG. He maintained that United Nations involvement in Liberia was conditional upon the good will of the factions to put an end to the war and to restore democracy. He also reiterated his Government would continue to provide assistance to Liberia, but warned that aid could not be provided indefinitely, and that Liberians needed to seize the opportunity to close "one of the most dismal pages of their national history".¹¹

The representative of the Russian Federation urged the Liberian parties to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and UNOMIL and to fulfil their obligations under the Abuja Agreement. He stressed that the Liberian parties needed to understand that the patience of the international community was not boundless, that

⁸ S/1996/47, para. 10.

⁹ S/PV.3621, pp. 7-9.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

the Security Council could not go on endlessly extending the mandate of UNOMIL, and that further active support by the international community for the peace process would depend on whether the Liberian parties were able to demonstrate the political will to normalize the situation and fulfil the provisions of the Abuja Agreement.¹²

The representative of the United Kingdom stressed that it was the responsibility of the Council of State to ensure that the terms of the Abuja Agreement were adhered to. He also underlined that all in Liberia needed to understand that the continued commitment of the international community depended on the willingness of the factions to observe a ceasefire, disengage, disarm and demobilize.¹³

The representative of Ghana stated that the Council had yet to show enough interest in Liberia, which compared to the situation in other zones of conflict, did not demand too much for a successful resolution. Moreover, the international community's reluctance to provide material assistance was beginning to reflect negatively on the peace process. As a result, ECOMOG had not been able to deploy its troops throughout the country as quickly as desired; disarmament and demobilization of combatants remained behind schedule; and the skirmishes between some factions and ECOMOG troops had caused casualties on all sides, and among the civilian population.¹⁴

The representative of Nigeria stated that it was only when ECOMOG was able, or enabled, to fulfil its role and carry out its responsibilities that UNOMIL could have any impact in Liberia. In that connection, they drew attention to the failure of the international community to deliver on its commitment to provide a force level of 160 military observers, as against the current level of 82.¹⁵

The representative of Ethiopia, speaking in his capacity as the representative of OAU, stated that despite setbacks, the peace process would succeed if it received the full support and cooperation of all concerned. It would be naïve, however, to expect that free and fair elections could take place without the

demobilization of combatants, extensive consultations, and the improvement of the security situation in Liberia. The Organization of African Unity was closely monitoring the situation and had committed itself to provide financial support to assist ECOMOG.¹⁶

The President (United Kingdom), summing up, noted that most speakers had acknowledged that the peace process was at a critical juncture and called on all parties to strive to overcome setbacks. They had also underlined the complementarity between national, regional and international efforts, as well as the need for continued support to ECOMOG. Some also maintained that the conflict was among the élite, and that Liberian party leaders and factions bore the main responsibility to bring the peace process back on track.¹⁷

At its 3624th meeting, held on 29 January 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (United Kingdom), in accordance with the decision taken at the 3621st meeting, invited Mr. Alhaji G. V. Kromah, member of the Liberian National Transitional Government collective presidency, to take a seat at the Council table. The President then drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.¹⁸

At the outset, Mr. Kromah stated that after six years of war, there was finally hope for lasting peace. Liberian leaders and people had no choice but to obey the call of reality: "live in peace or live no more". He stated that a key factor in paving the way for peace and guaranteed elections in Liberia was disarmament. In that regard he informed that deployment of peacekeepers had started and the completion of that exercise was expected, accompanied by the backing promised by the international community to set the real pace for disarmament. He stressed that it was not only ECOMOG that was underequipped but also the Government of Liberia and UNOMIL, which were required by the peace agreements to implement various relevant provisions of the accord. He also appealed for

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁸ S/1996/57.

greater international assistance to the election programme.¹⁹

During the debate, a number of speakers reiterated their concern over the ceasefire violations and the slow pace in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement; emphasized that the people of Liberia and their leaders bore the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and reconciliation; and urged them to abide by their commitments and to bring the peace process back on track. They also urged the international community to provide ECOMOG with the necessary financial and logistical assistance for carrying out its mandate.²⁰

The representative of Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Union,²¹ stated that the Abuja Agreement had been a turning point towards national reconciliation, after a long war which had claimed the lives of 150,000 people and forced some 800,000 to leave Liberia. However, the Secretary-General's report had presented a very gloomy picture of the situation in the country, with major ceasefire violations and the ensuing deaths of some ECOMOG soldiers. Notwithstanding those tragic developments, the United Nations and the international community needed to remain committed to the peace process. The European Union hoped that the necessary conditions would be in place for the holding of the August elections, as scheduled.²²

At the same meeting, the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1041 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 23 January 1996 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Expressing its grave concern about the recent incidence of ceasefire violations and attacks on troops of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, as well as continuing delays in the process of disengagement and disarmament of forces,

Stressing the need for all parties to the Abuja Agreement to adhere strictly to its terms and expedite its implementation,

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States which have contributed and are contributing troops to the Monitoring Group,

Commending those Member States which have provided assistance in support of the peace process and to the Monitoring Group, including contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 23 January 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 31 May 1996;

3. *Calls upon* all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have already entered into, in particular the provisions of the Abuja Agreement with regard to the maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and national reconciliation;

4. *Condemns* the recent armed attacks against personnel of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group and against civilians, and demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith;

5. *Expresses its condolences* to the Governments and peoples of the countries members of the Monitoring Group and the families of the Monitoring Group personnel who have lost their lives;

6. *Demands once more* that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of Monitoring Group and Mission personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and also demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by the relevant rules of international humanitarian law;

7. *Urges* all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to disarmament of the Liberian factions;

8. *Stresses* that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the

¹⁹ S/PV.3624, pp. 2-5.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7 (Botswana); pp. 7-8 (Egypt); p. 8 (Honduras); pp. 8-9 (Guinea-Bissau); and pp. 9-10 (Republic of Korea).

²¹ Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Slovakia also associated themselves with the statement.

²² S/PV.3624, pp. 5-6.

participation of the Mission, is contingent on the demonstrated enduring commitment by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation in line with the peace process;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit by 31 March 1996 a progress report on the situation in Liberia, in particular the progress in disarmament and demobilization, and in planning for elections;

10. *Calls upon* the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and with the concept of operations of the Mission, to intensify the action necessary to provide security for Mission observers and civilian staff;

11. *Stresses* the need for close contacts and enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group in their operational activities at all levels;

12. *Urges* Member States to continue to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

13. *Stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia as well as the need to rehabilitate promptly the penitentiary system in this country;

14. *Reminds* all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992 and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

15. *Expresses its appreciation* to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all Mission personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

16. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representatives of the United States and Germany, while expressing support for the extension of UNOMIL, warned that they would not tolerate any further delays and would have difficulty supporting a further extension in the absence of visible progress with regard to the ceasefire, disengagement of troops and disarmament.²³

**Decision of 9 April 1996 (3649th meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3649th meeting, held on 9 April 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council continued consideration of

the item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Chile) invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then made the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁴

The Security Council expresses its grave concern at the outbreak of fighting in Monrovia and the rapidly deteriorating situation throughout Liberia. This new outbreak of factional fighting, and the harassment and abuse of the civilian population and humanitarian and relief workers, threaten the peace process and raises serious doubts about the commitment of the factions to its implementation.

The Council reminds all parties of their responsibility fully to respect international humanitarian law with regard to the civilian population and to ensure the safety of United Nations and other international personnel, and calls upon them to take immediate steps to this end. The Council calls upon all parties to fulfil their obligation to respect the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and property.

The Council expresses its deep concern at the failure of the Council of State and the faction leaders to demonstrate the political will and determination required for implementation of the Abuja Agreement. Unless Liberia's political leaders immediately show by concrete positive actions a reaffirmation of their commitment to the Abuja Agreement and fully honour their obligation to re-establish and maintain the ceasefire, they risk losing the support of the international community. The Council underscores the personal responsibility of Liberia's leaders in this regard.

The Council reaffirms its support for the Abuja Agreement as the only existing framework for resolving Liberia's political crisis and the crucial role of the Economic Community of West African States in bringing the conflict to an end.

The Council calls upon the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Liberian parties to work with the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group immediately to disengage all forces, re-establish peace and law and order in Monrovia and an effective and comprehensive ceasefire throughout the country. The Council calls upon the parties, in particular the wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy that is known as ULIMO-J, to release all hostages without harm. It further calls upon the parties to return all captured weapons and equipment to the Monitoring Group.

The Council reminds all States of their obligation to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms

²³ Ibid., pp. 10-11 (United States); and p. 11 (Germany).

²⁴ S/PRST/1996/16.

embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995).

The Council declares its intention, based on the progress made by the Liberian parties in implementing the steps set out above, and after consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Liberia, to determine what further measures may be appropriate regarding the future United Nations presence in Liberia.

**Decision of 6 May 1996 (3661st meeting):
statement by the President**

At its 3661st meeting, held on 6 May 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council continued consideration of the item on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (China) invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then made the following statement on behalf of the Council:²⁵

The Security Council expresses once again its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Liberia. The Council strongly deplores the wanton killing and atrocities committed against innocent civilians by the forces of the warring factions. The escalating violence among the factions in violation of the Abuja Agreement puts the peace process at grave risk.

The Council calls upon the parties immediately to cease fighting, to observe the ceasefire and to return Monrovia to a safe haven under the protection of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group. It expresses its support for the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States, including the role of the Monitoring Group, to bring this conflict to an end.

The Council regrets that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia has forced the evacuation of significant numbers of personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia. The Council reminds all States of their obligation to comply with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992).

The Council stresses the importance it attaches to the summit meeting of the Economic Community of West African States to be held in Accra on 8 May 1996 and urges the leaders of the Liberian factions to reaffirm by concrete positive actions their commitment to the Abuja Agreement.

**Decision of 31 May 1996 (3671st meeting):
resolution 1059 (1996)**

By a letter dated 19 April 1996 addressed to the President of the Security Council,²⁶ the Secretary-General described the widespread looting and complete breakdown of law and order since the eruption of fighting in Monrovia on 6 April 1996. Given the security situation, civilian and military non-essential personnel of UNOMIL, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations had been relocated to neighbouring countries. Thousands of people had been displaced and were living in desperate conditions. He stressed that those developments had clearly demonstrated that the Monitoring Group's chronic lack of manpower and logistics had seriously undermined its operational effectiveness.

On 21 May 1996, pursuant to resolution 1041 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his seventeenth progress report on UNOMIL, describing developments in Liberia, and containing his recommendations on the future role of the Observer Mission.²⁷ The Secretary-General reported that renewed hostilities had continued and were seriously jeopardizing the peace process, and the security situation in Monrovia remained dangerous and unpredictable. Over the previous six weeks, faction leaders had shown wanton disrespect for the United Nations, ECOWAS and the international community, as well as disregard for the Liberian people's desire for peace. ECOWAS had agreed on steps to resume the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, but warned the faction leaders that if they failed to implement the measures agreed upon, it would reconsider its involvement in Liberia. He underscored that the withdrawal of ECOMOG could be catastrophic, not only for the country but for the whole subregion. Moreover, should the Monitoring Group be compelled to withdraw, UNOMIL would be forced to do the same. The Secretary-General stated that UNOMIL continued to play an important role in Liberia and therefore recommended a three-month extension of its mandate, until 31 August 1996. The willingness of the faction leaders to engage in genuine negotiations would be an important factor in determining further involvement of the international community in Liberia.

²⁵ S/PRST/1996/22.

²⁶ S/1996/312.

²⁷ S/1996/362.

At its 3667th meeting, held on 28 May 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General in its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (China) invited the representatives of Algeria, Djibouti, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Zambia and Zimbabwe, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President also drew the attention of the members of the Council to letters dated 15 and 17 May 1996, respectively, by the representatives of Italy and Ghana, addressed to the Secretary-General.²⁸

At the outset, the representative of Liberia recalled that since the eruption of the civil war, the Liberian people had struggled to seek a settlement through political accommodation and national reconciliation. Regrettably, the country appeared to be no closer to peace than it was when the war started in December 1989. The Abuja Agreement remained largely unimplemented, hostilities were continuing, and the ceasefire and other measures called for by ECOWAS had not been honoured. As a result, there was a breakdown of law and order, and the Council of State was unable to function since some of its members had left the country because their safety could not be guaranteed. He urged the Security Council to demand strict compliance with the embargo and to put in place penalties against all known violators. Reiterating his appeal for continued assistance to ECOMOG, he stated that the Charter needed to be amended to ensure that a mechanism was put in place whereby any subregional peacekeeping operations sanctioned by the Security Council would be financed by the United Nations. He endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendations, particularly on the deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force in Liberia, and the incorporation of ECOMOG into the larger force.²⁹

The representative of the United States reiterated that the problem in Liberia was "a struggle among a few élites for power". The faction leaders were committed to their own interests rather than the well-being of their people. They had reignited violence; turned Monrovia from a safe haven into a war zone;

and looted the equipment of relief agencies. Notwithstanding that situation, the international community needed to remain engaged in the efforts to provide relief and to bring peace to the people of Liberia. He expressed his country's belief that the Security Council needed to support the important initiative by the countries of the region. His delegation would support the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL; however it urged all Liberians, particularly the faction leaders, to use that time to meet the conditions ECOWAS had laid out and to offer their people the chance for peace.³⁰

During the course of the debate, most speakers expressed concern over the resumption of hostilities and the spread of fighting into the previously safe area of Monrovia; and urged faction leaders to observe the ceasefire, withdraw all fighters and arms from Monrovia, and allow unimpeded deployment of the Monitoring Group. While supporting the additional extension of the mandate of UNOMIL, they urged the parties to make use of that period to resume negotiations and bring the peace process back on track, and also reiterated their appeal for continued assistance to ECOMOG.³¹ Some speakers denounced the continued flow of arms to the warring factions and called for strict compliance with the embargo imposed by the Council on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia.³²

The representative of the Republic of Korea noted that as Liberia was the first case in which a regional organization had been leading peacekeeping operations in cooperation with the United Nations, the failure of the Monitoring Group's peacekeeping mission could have adverse consequences for the future role of regional organizations in Africa in dealing with intra-regional conflicts.³³

The representatives of China and Zambia stated that the conflict in Liberia had not only affected the

²⁸ S/1996/353, transmitting a statement by the European Union on Liberia's boat people, and S/1996/377, transmitting a statement by the Government of Ghana on the Liberian situation, respectively.

²⁹ S/PV.3667, pp. 2-5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8 (Egypt); pp. 8-9 (Honduras); pp. 9-10 (Botswana); pp. 13-14 (United Kingdom); pp. 13-14 (Germany); pp. 15-16 (Poland); pp. 18-19 (Indonesia); pp. 20-21 (China); and pp. 21-22 (Nigeria).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 11 (Republic of Korea); p. 17 (Chile); p. 19 (Indonesia); p. 20 (Guinea-Bissau); and p. 22 (Nigeria).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

people of that country, but also posed a threat to peace and stability in the entire region.³⁴

The representative of the Russian Federation stated that the resumption of hostilities in Liberia threatened the stability of the neighbouring countries of the region. He called upon the leaders of the warring parties to comply with the ceasefire; provide security guarantees to United Nations and other international personnel; to withdraw their fighters from Monrovia; to allow the unimpeded deployment of ECOMOG within the city; and to restore its status as a safe haven.³⁵

The representative of Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Union,³⁶ expressed the hope that the “stubbornness” of the Liberian “warlords” would not force the international community once again to withdraw from an African country, which was in desperate need of help. He underscored that the European Union did not intend to extend recognition to any Government established through the use of force.³⁷

The representative of France stated that the factions bore full responsibility for the events in Liberia. He recalled that ECOWAS had recently stated that the presence of the African force would depend on the progress made to implement the peace process, and that the Secretary-General had indicated that UNOMIL would remain only if ECOMOG were still there. He stressed that the international community’s total withdrawal from Liberia would cause renewed fighting throughout the country and would endanger the stability of the subregion. The Council should evaluate whether the “warlords” truly intended to re-establish peace in Liberia. If not, his delegation would have to reconsider the role of the Mission. He expressed their hope that he would not be obliged to vote for its withdrawal.³⁸

The representative of Ghana stated that the Council needed to secure unconditional logistical and financial support for ECOMOG, together with

humanitarian and development assistance for Liberia. He commented that “a solution now will be cheaper, in terms of human lives and material resources, than it will be tomorrow, after ECOMOG is compelled to withdraw as a result of inaction by the international community”.³⁹

The representative of Zimbabwe wondered why the involvement of UNOMIL was contingent on the Monitoring Group’s presence in Liberia. He reiterated that when regions or regional organizations came up with peace initiatives to arrest dangerous threats to peace and security they ought to, of necessity, receive the active, all-round support of the international community through the United Nations. In their view, that was what Chapter VIII of the Charter was about. He stressed that rather than playing the role of substitute for the uniquely mandated role of the United Nations, those regional efforts needed to be viewed and treated as facilitators in the efforts of the United Nations in pursuit of its Charter-enshrined responsibility to maintain international peace and security.⁴⁰

At its 3671st meeting, on 31 May 1996, the Council resumed consideration of the item on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (China) drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of its prior consultations.⁴¹ The draft resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1059 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 21 May 1996 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

Stressing that the escalating violence is in violation of the Abuja Agreement and puts the peace process at grave risk,

Firmly convinced of the importance of Monrovia as a safe haven, and noting especially the recent broader deployment of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group in the city,

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 28, respectively.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

³⁶ Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia also associated themselves with the statement (S/PV.3667, p. 12).

³⁷ S/PV.3667, pp. 12-13.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁴¹ S/1996/394.

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Noting the adoption of a mechanism for returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of countries members of the Economic Community of West African States on 7 May 1996,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group,

Commending those Member States that have supported the peace process and the Monitoring Group, including through contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

Stressing that the presence of the Mission in Liberia is predicated on the presence of the Monitoring Group and its commitment to ensuring the safety of military observers and civilian staff of the Mission,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 21 May 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 31 August 1996;

3. *Recognizes* that the deterioration of the security situation on the ground warranted the decision of the Secretary-General to reduce temporarily the strength of the Mission;

4. *Notes* the intention of the Secretary-General to maintain Mission deployments at their present level, and requests that he advise the Security Council of any significant planned increase in the number of personnel deployed depending on the evolution of the security situation on the ground;

5. *Expresses its grave concern* at the collapse of the ceasefire, the resumption of hostilities and the spread of fighting into the previously safe area of Monrovia and its environs;

6. *Condemns* all attacks against personnel of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group, the Mission and international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance, as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies and personal property, and calls for the immediate return of looted property;

7. *Demands once more* that the factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of Monitoring Group and Mission personnel, as well as international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and also demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by the relevant rules of international humanitarian law;

8. *Calls upon* the Liberian parties to implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have already entered into, in particular the Abuja Agreement, and in this regard demands that they restore an effective and comprehensive ceasefire, withdraw all fighters and arms from Monrovia, allow the deployment of the Monitoring Group and restore Monrovia as a safe haven;

9. *Stresses* that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the participation of the Mission, is contingent on the Liberian parties demonstrating their commitment to resolving their differences peacefully and on the fulfilment of the conditions set out in paragraph 8 above;

10. *Stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia;

11. *Recalls* the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992 and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

12. *Encourages* the members of the Economic Community of West African States, in preparation for their summit, to consider ways and means to strengthen the Monitoring Group and to persuade the faction leaders to resume the peace process;

13. *Urges* all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to enable it to carry out its mandate;

14. *Calls upon* the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and with the concept of operations of the Mission, to provide for the security of Mission observers and civilian staff;

15. *Expresses support* for the resolve of the ministers of the countries members of the Economic Community of West African States not to recognize any Government in Liberia that comes to office through the use of force;

16. *Urges* Member States to continue to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to keep the Security Council closely informed of the situation in Liberia, and expresses its readiness, if the situation further deteriorates, to consider possible measures against those who do not cooperate with the resumption of the peace process;

18. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 30 August 1996 (3694th meeting):
resolution 1071 (1996)**

On 22 August 1996, in pursuance of resolution 1059 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a progress report on UNOMIL, describing developments in Liberia, and containing his recommendations on the future role of the Mission.⁴²

The Secretary-General stated that Liberia had suffered a tremendous ordeal since the outbreak of hostilities in Monrovia in April. Thousands of lives had been lost, hundreds of families displaced and its economy had been largely destroyed. Recent weeks had witnessed a new wave of violence, some of which had been politically motivated. Given the limited means of evacuation from the city and the precarious security situation, the strength of UNOMIL had been reduced during the reporting period. He noted, however, that the successful outcome of the ECOWAS summit meeting on 17 August 1996,⁴³ which had extended the Abuja Agreement and had established a new timetable for its implementation,⁴⁴ offered some hope for the restoration of the peace process. In the light of the above, the Secretary-General recommended the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of three months. During that time, and should the factions demonstrate their full commitment to the peace process, he would submit further recommendations on any enhanced United Nations role in Liberia. In conclusion, noting the decision of ECOWAS to give the faction leaders one last chance despite their lack of cooperation, the Secretary-General urged them to seize that opportunity to restore peace in their country. If they did not, the international community might have no choice but to disengage from Liberia.

At its 3694th meeting, held on 30 August 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Germany) invited the

representatives of Liberia and Nigeria, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He also drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations⁴⁵ and to a letter dated 21 August 1996 from the representative of Nigeria, addressed to the President of the Security Council.⁴⁶

The representative of Liberia, acknowledging that the outbreak of hostilities had been a serious setback to the peace process, affirmed that the leaders of ECOWAS and other national, regional and international players had worked tirelessly over the past four months to prevent the country's slide into a state of anarchy. He noted, however, that although the leaders of the warring factions had reiterated their commitment to the implementation of the revised Agreement, their repeated failure to honour previous agreements raised doubts about their sincerity and commitment. He further stated that while ECOMOG had experienced some financial and administrative problems, it nevertheless represented a pioneering effort to bring to fruition Chapter VIII, and thus deserved greater support from the United Nations. In that context, he stressed that the Organization should establish a mechanism whereby subregional and regional peacekeeping operations, undertaken with the Council's approval, would receive the requisite support.⁴⁷

During the course of the debate, most of the speakers acknowledged the contribution of ECOWAS to restoring peace and stability in Liberia, and welcomed its decision extending the Abuja Agreement, and establishing a revised timetable for its implementation, providing the means to verify compliance with its provisions, and stipulating measures for non-compliance. They urged the faction leaders to overcome their political differences and to comply with their commitments under the Agreement. They supported the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL, and called for international financial,

⁴² S/1996/684.

⁴³ S/1996/679 and Corr.1. Letter addressed to the President of the Security Council from the representative of Nigeria, transmitting the text of the final communiqué issued at the fourth meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, held at Abuja on 17 August 1996.

⁴⁴ S/1996/684, annex I.

⁴⁵ S/1996/701.

⁴⁶ S/1996/679 and Corr.1, transmitting the text of the final communiqué issued at the end of the fourth meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, held at Abuja, Nigeria, on 17 August 1996.

⁴⁷ S/PV.3694, pp. 2-4.

logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG.⁴⁸

Speaking before the vote, the representative of China stated that his country had consistently supported regional organizations in their efforts to resolve problems in their respective regions, pursuant to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. His delegation also supported the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL and hoped that the Liberian parties would seize that opportunity to disarm their forces and to make preparations for the general elections.⁴⁹

The representative of the United Kingdom stated that the Agreement reached in Abuja and the extension of UNOMIL would test the will of the faction leaders to abide by their commitments, and noted that severe penalties would be imposed on anyone who failed to do so. They also needed to cease the intimidation and attacks against United Nations, ECOMOG and other non-governmental organization personnel, end the looting and return all stolen property. He stressed that this was the last chance for Liberia to resolve its problems with the assistance of the United Nations.⁵⁰

The representative of the Russian Federation noted with satisfaction the positive developments in the country. He recognized, however, the complexity of implementation of the tasks, as in the past the parties had repeatedly violated the agreements they had signed. Noting the substantial objective difficulties to the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, he maintained that it was important that the efforts of the regional peacekeepers be supported by the necessary additional resources. He affirmed that responsibility for restoration of peace lay ultimately with Liberians and their leaders, and hoped that they would make use of that last chance; otherwise, the international community would have no choice but to leave Liberia.⁵¹

The draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1071 (1996), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1059 (1996) of 31 May 1996,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 22 August 1996 on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia,

Taking note of the letter dated 21 August 1996 from the representative of Nigeria to the President of the Security Council containing the final communiqué issued at the fourth meeting of heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States, held at Abuja on 17 August 1996,

Welcoming the increasing restoration of Monrovia as a safe haven,

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Recognizing the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States in its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States contributing troops to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group,

Commending those Member States that have supported the peace process, the Mission and the Monitoring Group, including through contributions to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

Stressing that the continued presence of the Mission in Liberia is predicated on the presence of the Monitoring Group and its commitment to ensuring the safety of the Mission, and emphasizing the need for enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group,

1. *Welcomes* the report of the Secretary-General of 22 August 1996;

2. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 30 November 1996;

3. *Welcomes* the agreement of the Economic Community of West African States in Abuja on 17 August 1996, which extended the Abuja Agreement of 1995 until 15 June 1997, established a timetable for implementation of the Agreement, adopted a mechanism to verify compliance by the faction leaders with the Agreement and proposed possible measures against the factions in the event of non-compliance;

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 4-5 (Nigeria). Before the vote: p. 6 (Italy); pp. 6-7 (Egypt); pp. 7-8 (Botswana); p. 9 (Indonesia); pp. 10-11 (Republic of Korea); pp. 11-12 (Honduras); pp. 12-13 (Guinea-Bissau); pp. 13-14 (Poland); and pp. 14-15 (Chile). After the vote: pp. 16-17 (Germany).

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 12.

4. *Calls upon* the Liberian factions to implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have entered into;

5. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 October 1996 with proposals for assistance which the Mission or other United Nations agencies could provide in support of the Liberian peace process, including support for the election process, disarmament, demobilization, and verification of compliance by the factions;

6. *Decides* to maintain Mission deployments at an appropriate level as recommended in the report of the Secretary-General, and requests that the Secretary-General take into account the need to ensure the security of Mission personnel and advise the Council of any planned further deployments;

7. *Stresses* that the continued support of the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the participation of the Mission, is contingent on the Liberian factions demonstrating their commitment to resolving their differences peacefully and to achieving national reconciliation in accordance with the agreement reached in Abuja on 17 August 1996;

8. *Condemns* all attacks against and intimidation of personnel of the Monitoring Group, the Mission and the international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance, as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies and personal property, calls upon the leaders of the factions to ensure the immediate return of looted property, and requests the Secretary-General to include in the report referred to in paragraph 5 above information on how much of the stolen property has been returned;

9. *Condemns* the practice of some factions of recruiting, training, and deploying children for combat, and requests the Secretary-General to include in the report referred to in paragraph 5 above details on this inhumane and abhorrent practice;

10. *Demands once more* that the factions and their leaders strictly respect the status of the personnel of the Monitoring Group, the Mission and international organizations and agencies, including humanitarian assistance workers, and also demands that these factions facilitate the freedom of movement of the Mission and the delivery of humanitarian assistance and that they strictly abide by the relevant principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

11. *Stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia and also the human rights aspect of the Mission's mandate;

12. *Stresses also* the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Security Council

Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

13. *Urges* all States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to assist it in carrying out its mandate;

14. *Also urges* all States to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

15. *Stresses* the importance of close contacts and enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group in their operational activities at all levels, and calls upon the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and with the concept of operations of the Mission, to provide security for the Mission;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to keep the Security Council closely informed of the situation in Liberia;

17. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

Speaking after the vote, the representative of the United States stated that Liberia's recent history was "littered with broken promises and lost opportunities for peace". Faction leaders needed to realize that the world was more concerned with their deeds than with their words, and that the United States would be closely monitoring their actions. The Secretary-General's call for increased deployments of UNOMIL, which his delegation supported, would be justified only if the peace process remained on track. He stressed that the ECOWAS States and the international community at large needed to do everything in their power to ensure compliance by the parties.⁵²

The representative of France stated that the revised Abuja Agreement gave new hopes for peace. In addition, the sanctions envisaged for non-compliance constituted an important guarantee for its implementation. He cautioned that another failure could lead to the withdrawal of the international community, a widespread renewal of fighting and a major threat to stability in the region.⁵³

Decision of 27 November 1996 (3717th meeting): resolution 1083 (1996)

On 19 November 1996, pursuant to resolution 1071 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his twentieth progress report on UNOMIL,

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

providing an update on developments in Liberia and containing recommendations on the future role of the Mission.⁵⁴ The Secretary-General reported that, despite an attempt made on the life of Councilman Charles Taylor, the leader of the National Patriotic Front (NPF), on 31 October, there had been some encouraging developments. The ECOWAS countries had reiterated their determination to increase the force level of ECOMOG, subject to the availability of logistic and financial resources, and steps had been taken to address the complicated question of holding free and fair elections in Liberia. In that connection, and at the request of the Liberian National Transitional Government, he intended to send a technical survey team to Liberia to prepare recommendations on the conduct of the electoral process and on the role the United Nations could play. The Secretary-General noted, however, that despite those positive developments, the entrenched hostility and mistrust continued to pose a threat to the peace process. He called upon faction leaders to put aside their differences and to use the political process, instead of military means, so that the peace process could move forward. He also called on them to facilitate the delivery of urgently needed humanitarian assistance. In the meantime, he recommended an extension of the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of four months, until 31 March 1997. During that period, he would continue to keep the situation under close review and would submit to the Council by 31 January 1997 his recommendations on possible United Nations support for the holding of free and fair elections in the country.

At its 3717th meeting, held on 27 November 1996 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Indonesia) invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.⁵⁵ The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1083 (1996), which reads:

⁵⁴ S/1996/962.

⁵⁵ S/1996/984.

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1071 (1996) of 30 August 1996,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 19 November 1996,

Noting with grave concern the continued violations by the factions of the ceasefire as agreed to in the Abuja Agreement of 19 August 1995 and in the timetable for implementation established on 17 August 1996 when the Abuja Agreement was extended, which threaten the prospects for peace in Liberia,

Welcoming the beginning of the disarmament process on 22 November 1996 in accordance with the amended implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement, and urging all factions to participate as they have agreed,

Reiterating that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Noting with appreciation the active efforts of the Economic Community of the West African States to restore peace, security and stability to Liberia, and commending the African States which have contributed to the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group,

Expressing its appreciation to those States which have supported the United Nations Military Observer Mission in Liberia and those which have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

Emphasizing that the continued presence of the Mission is predicated on the presence of the Monitoring Group and its commitment to ensuring the safety of the Mission,

1. *Calls upon* the Liberian factions to cease hostilities immediately and to implement the commitments they have entered into, especially the agreement of the Economic Community of West African States in Abuja of 17 August 1996, which established a timetable for implementation of the Abuja Agreement, adopted a mechanism to verify compliance by the faction leaders with the Agreement and proposed possible measures against the factions in the event of non-compliance;

2. *Urges* the factions to complete on time the disarmament process, which is one of the key steps leading up to the forthcoming elections in 1997;

3. *Stresses* the urgent need for the international community to support the work and training projects to help to ensure the social and economic rehabilitation of demobilized combatants;

4. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia until 31 March 1997;

5. *Decides also* to maintain Mission deployments at an appropriate level as recommended in paragraph 37 of the report of the Secretary-General, and requests that the Secretary-

General, taking into account the need to ensure the security of Mission personnel, advise the Council of any planned further deployments;

6. *Condemns in the strongest possible terms* the practice of recruiting, training and deploying children for combat, and demands that the warring parties immediately cease this inhumane and abhorrent activity and release all child soldiers for demobilization;

7. *Condemns* all attacks against and intimidation of personnel of the Monitoring Group, the Mission and the international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance, as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies and personal property, and calls upon the leaders of the factions to return stolen property;

8. *Demands* that the factions facilitate the freedom of movement of the Mission, the Monitoring Group and international organizations and agencies and the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance, and that they strictly abide by the principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

9. *Stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia, and emphasizes the human rights aspect of the Mission's mandate;

10. *Stresses also* the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on the deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

11. *Reiterates strongly* its appeal to all States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the Monitoring Group to assist it in carrying out its mission and to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia in order to help to implement the peace process, including demobilization and reintegration;

12. *Stresses* the importance of close contacts and enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group at all levels, and calls upon the Monitoring Group, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of the Mission and the Group in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and with the concept of operations of the Mission, to provide security for the Mission;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of the situation in Liberia, especially on the progress of demobilization and disarmament, and to submit by 31 January 1997 a progress report and recommendations on possible United Nations support for the holding of free and fair elections;

14. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 27 March 1997 (3757th meeting):
resolution 1100 (1997)**

On 19 March 1997, pursuant to resolution 1083 (1996), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his twenty-second progress report on UNOMIL, providing an update on developments in Liberia and containing his recommendations on the role of the Mission in the forthcoming elections.⁵⁶ The Secretary-General reported that the period under review had witnessed an improvement in the security situation, the revitalization of Liberian civil society, and reactivation of political parties to prepare for elections, making it possible to begin preparations for the holding of elections. Reporting on the electoral process, the Secretary-General stated that on 26 February 1997 he had dispatched an assessment mission to Liberia to assess electoral requirements and make recommendations on the role of UNOMIL during the electoral process. The Mission had concluded that conditions in Liberia provided a reasonable basis for the organization and conduct of elections on 30 May 1997, as scheduled. The United Nations was expected to play an essential role in the elections, by providing, in conjunction with ECOWAS and other international organizations, technical assistance to the electoral authorities. The Mission, in addition to its current mandate, would work jointly with ECOWAS to ensure adequate coordination, and would also support voter education. The Secretary-General therefore recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of three months, until the end of June 1997, at which time he expected to be in a position to report on the conduct and the results of the elections.

At its 3757th meeting, held on 27 March 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General on its agenda. Following the adoption of the agenda, the President (Poland) invited the representatives of Liberia and the Netherlands, at their request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. The President then called the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ S/1997/237.

⁵⁷ S/1997/254.

The representative of Liberia stated that thanks to the proactive role of the United Nations in conflict resolution, the Liberian conflict was receiving the deserved attention of the Organization. In addition, the pioneering efforts by a subregion had made manifest Chapter VIII of the Charter and had demonstrated that, with the requisite political will, countries could act decisively in bringing some of the objectives of the Charter to fruition. He urged the international community to provide the necessary resources to enable ECOMOG's deployment throughout the country; to assist eligible voters who were refugees in neighbouring countries to return home; and to restructure the Liberian armed forces and paramilitary units in view of the intention of ECOWAS to withdraw its Monitoring Group from Liberia six months after the elections. In that context, he pointed out that the Secretary-General's basic framework for the holding of elections in Liberia,⁵⁸ which had been agreed to by the parties and ECOWAS, were the fundamental requirement for sustainable peace in Liberia and would allow Liberians to select their own leaders under conditions which had to be declared by all as being free and fair.⁵⁹

The representative of the Netherlands, speaking on behalf of the European Union,⁶⁰ stated that the European Union fully supported the electoral process as defined by the Liberians and ECOWAS, on the basis of the recommendations of the Monitoring Group's Committee of Nine. His delegation welcomed the increase of the military component of UNOMIL and supported the proposal of the Secretary-General to strengthen its electoral unit. Provided the timetable was respected, the Union would supply financial and technical assistance to the electoral process. It also intended to send a team of electoral observers to Liberia.⁶¹

⁵⁸ S/1997/237, paras. 18 and 20. See also the letter dated 10 February 1997 from the Secretary-General, addressed to the President of the Security Council (not issued as a document of the Council).

⁵⁹ S/PV.3757, pp. 2-3.

⁶⁰ Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia also aligned themselves with the statement (S/PV.3757, p. 3).

⁶¹ S/PV.3757, pp. 3-4.

Speaking before the vote, the representative of the United States expressed concern at the delays in inaugurating the independent Elections Commission and expressed hope that the Elections Commission and the Supreme Court would be installed and would start to function without further delay. He stated that they supported the extension of UNOMIL through June to enable it to assist with preparations for and observation of the elections.⁶²

Speaking before the vote, most speakers expressed their support for the extension of the mandate of UNOMIL to assist with preparations for and observation of the elections in Liberia. They commended the efforts of ECOWAS and its Monitoring Group to restore peace, security and stability in the country, and urged the parties to extend their full cooperation, so that the elections could be held as scheduled. They also urged the international community to provide financial, logistical and other assistance to the electoral process, as well as additional resources to ECOMOG to enable it to maintain a secure environment during the elections.⁶³

The draft resolution was thereupon put to the vote and adopted unanimously as resolution 1100 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 19 March 1997, especially his conclusion that the period under review has witnessed an improvement in the security situation, revitalization of civil society, and reactivation of political parties to prepare for elections,

Noting the agreement between the Council of State and the Economic Community of West African States on a basic framework for the holding of elections in Liberia scheduled for 30 May 1997,

Emphasizing that the holding of free and fair elections as scheduled is an essential phase of the peace process in Liberia,

Reiterating that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5 (France); pp. 5-6 (Egypt); p. 6 (China); pp. 6-7 (Portugal); pp. 7-8 (Sweden); pp. 8-9 (Chile); and pp. 9-10 (Japan).

Noting with appreciation the active efforts of the Economic Community of West African States to restore peace, security and stability to Liberia, and commending the States which have contributed to the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States,

Expressing its appreciation to those States which have supported the United Nations Military Observer Mission in Liberia and those which have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia,

Emphasizing that the continued presence of the Mission is predicated on the presence of the Monitoring Group and its commitment to ensure the safety of the Mission,

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Military Observer Mission in Liberia until 30 June 1997;

2. *Welcomes* the recommendations of the Secretary-General contained in paragraphs 29 and 30 of his report of 19 March 1997 concerning the role of the Mission in the electoral process;

3. *Expresses its concern* at the delay in the installation of the new independent Elections Commission and the reconstituted Supreme Court, and the implications of this delay for the electoral process, and urges that they be installed immediately;

4. *Urges* the international community to provide financial, logistical and other assistance to the electoral process in Liberia, including through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and to provide additional support for the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States to enable it to sustain a secure environment for the elections;

5. *Stresses* the importance of close contacts and enhanced coordination between the Mission and the Monitoring Group at all levels and, in particular, the importance of the Monitoring Group continuing to provide effective security for international personnel ring the election process;

6. *Urges* all Liberian parties to cooperate with the peace process, including by respecting human rights and facilitating humanitarian activities and disarmament;

7. *Stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia, not least in the period leading up to elections, and emphasizes the human rights aspect of the mandate of the Mission;

8. *Also stresses* the importance of assisting with the prompt repatriation of refugees who are willing to return to Liberia in time to participate in the registration and voting process;

9. *Further stresses* the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on the deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all

instances of violations of the embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on a regular basis of the situation in Liberia and, in particular, significant developments in the electoral process, and to submit a report by 20 June 1997;

11. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 27 June 1997 (3793rd meeting):
resolution 1116 (1997)**

On 19 June 1997, pursuant to resolution 1100 (1997), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his twenty-third progress report on UNOMIL, providing an update on developments in Liberia and containing an assessment of the status of preparations for the forthcoming elections.⁶⁴

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that the peace process in Liberia was approaching its culminating stage, the holding of free and fair elections for a new, democratically elected Government. He noted, however, that the timetable for the remaining phases of the electoral process was “uncomfortably” tight and that the electoral calendar established by the Liberian Independent Elections Commission was so demanding that it would require close cooperation and coordination among all the actors involved. In addition, the current logistical resources were not sufficient to support all the activities associated with the electoral process. The Secretary-General noted that the possibility of unrest during and after the elections, especially if the results were contested, could not be ruled out. Moreover, should a run-off election for the presidency be necessary, it would take place on 2 August 1997, followed by the installation of the new Government on 16 August. He believed that UNOMIL should remain in Liberia at its current strength until that date and, therefore, recommended that its mandate be extended for a final three-month period until 30 September 1997. In the meantime, he would keep the Council fully informed of all developments, especially during and immediately following the elections, with particular emphasis on their freeness, fairness and credibility, and of any changes in the security situation. The Secretary-General affirmed that the departure of UNOMIL would not mean the end of

⁶⁴ S/1997/478.

United Nations involvement in Liberia. In addition to the development work by its agencies, and subject to the agreement of the incoming Government and to the concurrence of the Security Council, the Organization would maintain a small political office in Monrovia for a limited period of time.

At its 3793rd meeting, held on 27 June 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the report of the Secretary-General on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Russian Federation) invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He also drew the attention of the members of the Council to the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of prior consultations.⁶⁵

The draft resolution was put to the vote and was adopted unanimously as resolution 1116 (1997), which reads:

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1100 (1997) of 27 March 1997,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 19 June 1997,

Noting the decision of the Economic Community of West African States to postpone the election date to 19 July 1997,

Emphasizing that the holding of free and fair elections is an essential stage of the peace process in Liberia and that the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia is mandated to observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections, as stated in resolution 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993,

Reiterating that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Emphasizing that the presence of the Mission is predicated on the presence of the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States and its commitment to ensure the safety of military observers and civilian staff of the Mission,

Noting with appreciation the active efforts of the Economic Community of West African States to restore peace, security, and stability to Liberia, and commending those African States which have contributed and continue to contribute to the Monitoring Group,

Expressing its appreciation to those States which have supported the Mission and those which have contributed to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

1. *Decides* to extend the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Liberia until 30 September 1997, in the expectation that it will terminate on that date;

2. *Calls upon* the Liberian parties to implement fully all the agreements and commitments they have entered into, and urges all Liberians to participate peacefully in the electoral process;

3. *Expresses its gratitude* to the international community for providing financial, logistical and other forms of assistance for the electoral process in Liberia, including through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and for providing support to the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States to enable it to carry out its peacekeeping responsibilities and to sustain a secure environment for the elections;

4. *Emphasizes* the need for constructive collaboration between the United Nations, the Economic Community of West African States, the Liberian Independent Elections Commission and the international community in coordinating assistance for the elections;

5. *Stresses* the importance of close coordination between the Mission, the Monitoring Group, and the joint electoral coordination mechanism at all levels and, in particular, the importance that the Monitoring Group continue to provide effective security for international personnel during the election process and provide the necessary logistical support to the Independent Elections Commission;

6. *Also stresses* the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia, and emphasizes the human rights aspect of the mandate of the Mission;

7. *Further stresses* the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on the deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all instances of the violations of the embargo before the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on a regular basis of the situation in Liberia and, in particular, developments in the electoral process, and to submit a report by 29 August 1997;

9. *Decides* to remain seized of the matter.

**Decision of 30 July 1997 (3805th meeting):
statement by the President**

By a letter dated 24 July 1997, the Secretary-General informed the President of the Security Council

⁶⁵ S/1997/493.

that the Liberian electoral process had been successfully completed and the results officially announced, thus concluding the final element of the revised schedule of the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. A joint certification statement, on behalf of ECOWAS and the United Nations, attested to the fact that the entire electoral process had been conducted in an impartial and transparent manner, and that the elections had been certified as having been free and fair.⁶⁶

At its 3805th meeting, held on 30 July 1997 in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations, the Council included the letter from the Secretary-General on its agenda. After the adoption of the agenda, the President (Sweden) invited the representative of Liberia, at his request, to participate in the discussion without the right to vote. He then made the following statement on behalf of the Council:⁶⁷

The Security Council welcomes the successful holding of presidential and legislative elections in Liberia on 19 July 1997. The Council notes with satisfaction the letter dated 24 July 1997 from the Secretary-General to the President of the Security Council and the declaration in the joint certification statement by the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States and the Secretary-General that the electoral process was free, fair and credible, and that the outcome of the elections reflects the will of the Liberian voters.

The Council calls upon all parties to abide by the results of the elections and to cooperate in the formation of a new government. The Council also calls upon the new government to protect the democratic system and to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms under the rule of law.

The Council congratulates the people of Liberia on the courage and determination they have shown in proceeding with the elections under difficult circumstances. The Council commends all international personnel, especially those of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia and the Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West African States, who contributed to the successful holding of elections.

The Council welcomes the goodwill and cooperation demonstrated by the parties in the electoral process, which provides a strong foundation for the people of Liberia to achieve a durable peace, the re-establishment of constitutional government, and a return to the rule of law. The Council expresses the hope that the successful holding of elections will encourage refugees to exercise their right of return and calls upon the new government to fulfil its obligations under international law regarding returning refugees.

The Council notes that the successful holding of elections represents a critical step towards economic development. The Council urges the international community to continue to provide support and assistance to Liberia through this period of reconstruction.

The Council further notes that the successful conclusion of the electoral process marks the fulfilment of a key element of the mandate of the Mission.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

On 12 September 1997, pursuant to resolution 1116 (1997), the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a final report on UNOMIL.⁶⁸ The report contained an account of developments in Liberia, including an update on discussions at the summit meeting of States members of ECOWAS, held at Abuja on 28 and 29 August 1997. The Secretary-General stated that the expiry of the current mandate of the Mission would bring to a close an operation whose successful conclusion had been long delayed and often doubted. The lessons learned in UNOMIL and their application to current and future missions of a similar kind were being carefully examined. The repatriation of its staff was progressing satisfactorily. His Special Representative and his immediate staff were expected to leave Liberia on or before 30 September. Thereafter, a small team would remain in the country to complete the usual liquidation and closing process. The Secretary-General noted that the establishment of a United Nations office in Liberia would assist the Government and its people in the long process of reconstruction and national reconciliation. He hoped that the international community would continue to contribute to addressing the problems of post-Mission Liberia, as they had done in the past.

⁶⁶ S/1997/581.

⁶⁷ S/PRST/1997/41.

⁶⁸ S/1997/712.